113, 252, 291, 311, 361, 411, 622 Miao AE5

[For information on the settlement patterns, material culture, social organization, and subsistence technics of the Hainan Miao, see 2: Wu AE2 Hainan, category 116, pp. 242-244.]

/33 cont'd/

61 through frequent contacts and mutual interests. It is possible for this relationship to be even closer than that between those of the same surname who live far apart.

61 In summarizing, all subjective conditions necessary for the 121 development of the Miao kin group seem to have fully matured. [171] Their social organization will change once their economic life takes on a new direction. As far as this point is concerned, Miao society seems more advanced than Li society.

3. The Village

621 There is usually a village on every hill. The village is the most important center of the Miao social organization. It is not only a natural unit within certain geographic limits but also a community of common economic life. This point will be reserved for discussion in the next section. Now let us look at the external appearance of the village and its other aspects and activities.

[618 592] There are two kinds of villages: one is the village consisting of two or more surnames; the other consists of only one. The former type forms the large majority. A large village usually consists of more than ten or more families; a small one consists of several families. Their houses are close to each other in a cluster. The [361 311] village is usually encircled by a wood or bamboo fence in which there is a gate, but there are also villages which are unenclosed, 622 without fence or gate. The cultivable mountain land is always outside the village; inside the village there are only a few vegetable gardens. The headman of the village today is called chia-ch'ang /"head of a chia, or 100 families"/ or pao-ch'ang /"head of a pao, or 10 chia"/; (for detailed information consult the author's previous work, Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island). Before the pao-chia system was put into practice in the Miao and Li region by the government, the headman of a village, it is said, was called shan-chia /"mountain chief"/. /34/ This position was usually filled by an older man elected by the villagers. The qualifications for this position were ability to read Chinese, knowledge, experience, and Taoist persuasion. It is not definitely established

/34 cont'd/

622 whether there was also a property qualification. It is a fact, however, that the present chia-ch'ang, successors of the former shan-chia, all appear to be better off than the ordinary Miao people. Shan-chia is the keeper of knowledge for the Miao people. In his home he keeps the almanac, the Confucian classics, and other kinds of books. The public affairs of the village are under his direction and are all decided upon by him.

527 787 According to an old Miao custom, on the eve of the New Year, the entire population of the village usually gathered in the shan-chia's home to present him with jars of wines and to offer congratulations. They sang and asked the shan-chia about things of the coming year. From his experience and greater learning, the shan-chia would answer them one by one. The song that they sang was called "The Old Villager," the words of which are as follows:

539 Creating the heaven, creating the earth—Emperor P'an has done;
He made the rites followed by later men.
In accord with the rites, dinner is served for two;
A bare table would trouble the venerable official.
The first cup, we offer to him to drink,
After the second and third cups, the sands turn to gold.*
Thousands of cups are for all the stars to drink,
So that the venerable tree /uncl[illegible] sitting at the table
may not be bored!
The golden/?/* cup is now respectfully put on the table,
Like a moon among the stars in the sky.
As two rows of stars now line the hall,
Also hope that the sun, standing above all the rest, will
protect them.
In P'eng-cheng hall, all the stars are now sitting,
Without rest, without settling down, they await the
difficulties of the coming spring.
Virtue spreads out to all the stars,
May the country be prosperous and the people be secure for
ever!

/35 cont'd/

539 and ninth lines; the word shu ("tree") a miswriting of shu ("uncle") in the eighth line; shu ("tree") a miswriting of shu ("common people") in the twenty-fifth line, etc. In order to make sense, I have tried to translate the song partly in accord with the sound instead of the meaning of the actual characters. —Tr./

622 In this song they describe the shan-chia as the sun and themselves as the stars. As the stars are under the protection of the sun, so they are under the protection of the shan-chia (this is what line 12 means). They ask the shan-chia whether the next year will be an intercalary year (line 18). In which direction does prosperity lie? (line 20). Where is the best land to plant? (line 22). Will they have to move or not during the coming year? And if they have to move, please tell all to get the horses ready for the journey (lines 28 and 30). Fishing, hunting, and cultivation in the next year are all subjects included in their questions (lines 32 and 34). From this song we can see how important and complex the shan-chia's duties are.

/36/ (Figure of drum appears here.)

622 There is a large drum hanging in every shan-chia's home.
534 Whenever there are matters to discuss, the shan-chia will summon
202 a public meeting by beating the drum. During our field trip in a Miao village, one morning just before dawn we heard the beating of the drum and found that the shan-chia had summoned the villagers to discuss a chung-jen chai /public ceremony of worship/. The villagers indeed came in groups at the sound of the drum. Moreover, we observed with our own eyes that a shan-chia was entrusted with the responsibility of selecting a propitious day for a wedding.

476 Every village has its common land, common pasture, and
[421] common cemetery. Among the villagers a very close association

/36 cont'd/

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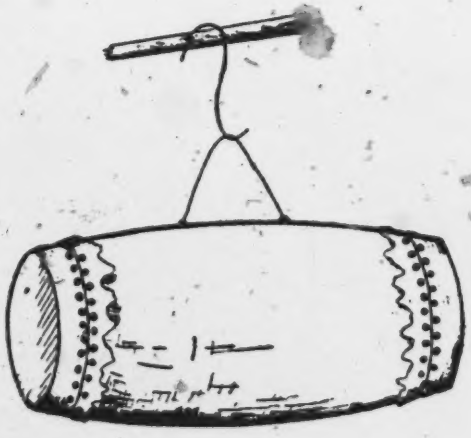

This is the large drum being preserved in the home of the chia-ch'ang. The drum is made of deer skin and each drum has two drum sticks.

/37 cont'd/

427 amount. If the property is rented, the duration as well as the rate of rent /38/ is fixed. It is to be paid either in one payment or by yearly instalment. After the contract has expired, they are either to move away or to renew the contract, which is determined by mutual agreement. If the property is purchased, the price is usually
423 greater than if it were rented. After the contract is signed, the rights of the mountain are transferred to the Miao purchaser, who may make use of it as he will. The original seller no longer has any rights whatever. The reason why some people among the Miao are able to remain for relatively longer periods in one locality is that they have acquired the ownership of the mountains they live on.
[675] Whether the mountain is rented or purchased, a contract is signed by both parties. The name of the mountain, the price or rent, and the duration if it is rented, are clearly stated. There are many mountains which have been purchased with joint funds of the villagers,
● [422] but on the contract only the name of the shan-chia or chia-ch'ang is written, because he is the representative of the whole village during the negotiations and the contract is also kept by him. In the home of a Miao chia-ch'ang, we saw many different contracts of this kind. Some of them are translated as follows:

675 "We, the signers of the contract for Ya-nan Mountain, T'ung
539 Li, Lao Ta-k'ai, Shih Chün and Ying Kuo-ying-chi, having ex-
423 amined the vegetation and marked the soil, hereby agree that the price of the mountain shall be 66 dollars. The expenses of tao-ping /the commission?/ shall be 350 cash and a peck of rice from each family. The mountain products, ching-pi, shan-ma, deer horn, bear gall, red and white rattan, are all the property of the owners of the mountain; they shall not be stolen or sold. The Miao will be allowed to cut wood on this mountain for the next 25 years. This contract shall not be revoked on any pretext. Since oral agreement is subject to dispute, this written contract has been drawn as evidence.

Witnessed by Ch'iu K'ai-i

/46/

Chapter VI. Customs and Practices

1. Birth

852 Twelve days after the birth of a Miao child, his family always holds a "twelfth-day" celebration for him; after a month there is a "first-month" celebration. The family kills chickens and cook meat. They ask a Taoist priest to come to pray for him and name him. 551 The child is usually named "Ya Ta" /Ya the Elder/ or "Ya Erh" /Ya the Second/, etc. There is also a celebration of his first birthday, but the way it is celebrated is unknown to me.

2. Marriage

582 The Miao are generally betrothed when they are about twenty years old. 584 Betrothals are either made through the decision of the parents and the advice of go-betweens, or they are made after a couple have fallen in love and ask the parents for permission and the consultation of a go-between. In the latter case, the parents always respect their children's wishes. According to Miao custom, however, before the formal betrothal, the hour, day, month, and year of birth of the young couple (these are entered in the family registers) must be "compared" by someone who is able to read the almanac well 622 (generally a chia-ch'ang). If their horoscopes are in harmony with 787 each other and are not contradictory to those of the parents of both families, they are formally betrothed; otherwise, they must give each other up. Therefore, even if a couple are deeply in love and the match is approved of by the parents, if, unfortunately, their horoscopes are not "harmonious," they cannot marry. Many tragedies of lovers have resulted therefrom. 583 Betrothal presents consist of 731 about 20 dollars (previously 10 dollars or less), three jars of wine, three pecks of rice, and 30 catties of pork. There are two types of marriage: one is the ch'ü-hsi, in which the betrothal presents are 583 given by the bridegroom's /47/ family; the other is the chao-chui 591 /literally, "to call a son-in-law," a marriage in which the son-in-608 law comes to live in the wife's family/, in which the betrothal presents are given by the bride's family.

/132 cont'd/

755 In the evening we went to watch the Hsiao people in Yen-sheng village perform Tso p'ing an, a ritual asking help of a god because of sickness. The name of the god was Fu Lao Ye. His image was [532] carved on wood and seated in a tiny wooden sedan. During the sacred service, two Taoist priests, who were accompanying the wooden god, performed different duties: one recited incantations, and the other performed a series of acts, representing the god's directions to the sick person. As I watched, I suspected that this kind of practice was undoubtedly introduced by the Chinese; a highly symbolic god could not possible have originated in such a primitive culture as the Hsiao's.

754 During a conversation late at night, Mr. Wang Chao-t described in detail the two ways of carrying out black magic that the Li people use, the chin mu and ta fu t'ou, which were really frightening and hair-raising even for us to listen to.

Second month, twenty-fourth day. (Wednesday)

621 At ten o'clock in the morning, accompanied by Chiang Ying-liang and Ho Yüan-chiung, we started fro Chih-pao village. We arrived at the place in about an hour. Most of the villagers were out fishing, and only three old men were left to watch the village gate. Headman Teng Te-ch'un, who seemed to be about 60 years old, was refined in appearance. We were told that there were about 30 families with about 300 members, averaging ten members in each family, and that he had two sons and eight grandsons. He probably 163 exaggerated somewhat, but it is undoubtedly true that the birth rate 171 among the Miao is higher than among the Li, and because of their more sanitary habits the death rate is also lower. We found in his 165 home numerous written records; most were such things as pictures of gods, almanacs, and the Taoist canons. Since we had no time 622 to copy them, we only borrowed one copy and brought it back with 207 us. Headman Teng killed chickens to treat us, and we could not resist his hospitality and stayed for the meal. The meal was cleaner and more eatable than one prepared by the Li would have been.

622 /132 cont'd/
217 Upon leaving, we presented him with some gifts, for which he thanked us profusely.

123 /133/ In order to get pictures of the t'iao niang, at four o'clock in the afternoon, we had Mr. Wu Jui-lin act as the sick person and asked several "old women" to perform the t'iao niang in the drying yard at Mr. Chao-i's home. Perhaps because they perceived our intentions, they did not act as naturally as they normally would have. It was a half-hearted performance, for which we paid them four dollars and, in addition, a small pig, which were taken away and divided among them.

231 In the evening we watched Mr. Chao-i training his wild horses in his fish pond /sic/. His expertness in the training was much admired by us.

Second month, twenty-fifth day. (Thursday)

115 It had been reported that Headman Lu of Ang-chi village would conduct a tso chai for his dead brother on the three days, the 25th, 26th, and 27th days of the month. We decided to go to that village and stay there in order to observe this carefully, and at the same time to get a better look at the general conditions of living of the Miao. Mr. Chao-i gave us a rich farewell banquet with pigs and lambs, to which he also invited several other Li headmen of the vicinity. After the feast, we left for Ang-chi village. There we
122 rested for a while, and then went to Chih-pao village where we wished to borrow Headman Teng's family heirlooms, such as the pictures of gods and the Taoist books for photographing. Mr. Yang Cheng-chih, Mr. Wu Jui-lin, Mr. Chiang Ying-liang, and Mr. Kuang Pe-ngo were to leave from here for Ta-ch'i, and then they would take the route to Wu-chih /"five fingers"/ Mountain to make their investigation. Mr. Ho Yüan-chiung and I were to return to Ang-
000 chi and were to stay in this Li and Miao area for some time. The two groups of our party thus bade farewell to each other, and each pursued its own course. In the midst of deep valleys and steep mountains, I began to feel loneliness in a strange land with no one

2: Ling & Ruey

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Chart of the position of Table showing the military organization of the Hsien

p. 161	p. 163
p. 162	p. 164

/77 cont./

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262

miscellaneous food. This was called yin. Maggots and worms were the delicacies. The wealthy kept buckets of yin for many generations." This was probably the same as the yin of the Miao.

than ten chin were slaughtered and eaten. They were delicious and tender, excelling fat chickens. The dried meat made from them was especially tasty. Those who slaughtered cows would soak the bones in deep springs. After a long time they became soft and were considered a delicacy. The foregoing were the [77] old food habits of the Miao. Today, after having been acculturated to the Chinese for a long time, they may have discarded them. The authors in the course of their investigation in the Miao area did not hear of such foods. Or, perhaps, the Miao, conscious of their unseemly customs, concealed the facts from us.

271 The Miao drink water from the streams. When guests
262 arrive they offer ginger soup or hot pepper soup to show respect.
574 Today, they also know how to use tea in place of soup. There
272 are three kinds of wine, corn wine, wheat /or barley/ wine,
273 and rice wine, which they make themselves for their own consumption.

291 Personal adornment. — As for the style of dress of the
[77] Miao in Hunan today, whether for men or women, it is not very different and can be said to have been completely influenced by the Chinese. The men wrap their heads with black cloth, and wear green or black cloth short garments and trousers, and black cloth belts around the waist, and go barefooted (Illus. 41). During the Manchu dynasty only the village headman
302 shaved his head, the rest piled their hair in hair knots on top
[622] of their heads. Today, their hair is close cut or shaved smooth
[177] like the Chinese. The only difference is that they pull out
[515] the whiskers withthe fingernails or with tweezers. Today, those

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C 175 631 563 M * 175 631 * 648 ● 622 C [669] After the voluntary change from the native headmen in the Miao frontier region, in each Miao village there was set up a local village chief over 100 families /i.e., a pe hu chai ch'ang, "100 families village chief"/, in order to govern the Miao and bring them under the administration of government officials. But the chiefs of the 100 families were not always Miao, sometimes Chinese being appointed to these positions. As time passed, gradually, there were rapacious, unscrupulous rogues, whose mistreatment caused disturbances, so that the unprecedented Miao rebellion took place during the sixtieth year of Ch'ien Lung /1795/. When the Miao rebellion was put down in the first year of Chia Ch'ing /1796/, it was found that the policy of governing the Miao with Chinese was wrong. The then governor-general of Hunan and Kwangtung, Pi Yüan, submitted a plan to govern the Miao with Miao. (6) The ministry's

M [113]

6. See Pi Yüan: "Tsou Wu Chi Kan-chou Yung-pao Miao Jen Su /A Memorial Sent to the Throne Concerning the Bringing of the Miao People Together in Peace/" in Miao Fang-Pei Lan, Vol. 19, "I Wen Chih /Literary Archives/."

response to the memorial setting up regulations for Miao officials, Miao Chiang Chin-/106/ Yao Shan-Hou Shih I /Important Remedial Measures for the Miao Frontier Region/, has a passage, "Miao Chiang Pe Hu Chai Ch'ang Ming-Mu Ying Cho Liang Keng Ting /The Names of the Village Leaders of 100 Families Should be Decided after Due Deliberation/," stating: "According to the memorial, in the three provinces of Szechwan, Kweichow, and Hupeh, such areas as Yu-yang and T'ung-jen were all previously governed by headmen, but following their application to be put under government officials, the administrative areas of chou, hsien, and ying

/106 cont./

C 175 631 563 M *175 631 *648 [622] C [703] [701] [203] C [357] C 175 631 563 M *175 631 *648 622

were established, subject to the jurisdiction of civil and military authorities. In the Miao villages, there were established only village chiefs to govern a unit of 100 families. However, since Chinese were also permitted to fill these posts, gradually there were rapacious, unscrupulous rogues, whose mistreatment caused disturbances. It is requested that from among the Miao who have submitted, and on whom were conferred the peacock feather decoration /for merit, in early Ch'ing times/, there be selected some intelligent, aware persons, to be appointed at each ying /military station/ as native second captain /shou-pei/, lieutenant /ch'ien-tsung/, and sergeant or corporal /wai-wei/, such positions to be filled through the governor-general and governor's /tu-wu/ yamen /tu-wu ya-men/ and to be subject to the control of the civil and military authorities. When the various t'ang hsin in the Miao area have official despatches to send, they can order the said native petty officers to select Miao to question and send, and also to give them some cash and rations. When officials traveling on official business require servants, they may also recruit them from the Miao, and pay them wages according to the Chinese scales. It would appear that the 100-families village chief was originally inaugurated to discipline the Miao, but these men were unimportant and their powers limited, as that the Miao did not heed them. Moreover, among the Chinese holding such positions there were rapacious, unscrupulous rogues, whose mistreatment led to disturbances. This should naturally be explained, deliberated, and changed, so as to fix responsibility. During the recent campaign those submissive Miao who accompanied the army and won peacock feather awards are numerous, therefore from these select those who are intelligent and aware, and who have the support of the rest, and according to the customary set-up of t'u-kuan /officials governing aboriginal tribes in West China/, every Ying should have one or two men to be native second captains, under whom there should be native lieutenants and sergeants, for better control of

C /106 cont./
175 the Miao. Their number will depend upon the number of
631 villages put under control, and they shall be appointed by the
563 governor-general and governor's yamen and also be under the
M control of regional officials. If there are fights, robberies
* 175 and thefts among the Miao these native officers will be asked
631 to make the arrests. On their inspection tours, the governor-
* 648 general and governor and military officials should examine the
● [622] merits and demerits of these officers and reward or punish them
[625] accordingly to demonstrate justice, following the recommenda-
C tions memorialized by Governor-general Ho Lin. When the
[203] t'ang-hsin system of communication in the Miao area has been abolished, official communications should be despatched according to old methods so as to avoid delay. In the regions where the t'ang-hsin system exists as before, the local officials /t'u kuan/ should be asked to pick out honest Miao to be given the responsibility of delivering messages after being questioned, to be paid wages and rations from unallotted funds, according to the scale for t'un soldiers. When officials traveling on
C official business need servants, then order the said Miao to
[35] serve, and pay them wages according to recommendations memorialized." (1)

1. See "I Wen Chih" in Miao Fang Pei Lan, Vol. 19.

M According to the despatch quoted above the Miao officials,
[622] although they were military officers such as the native shou-pei and ch'ien-tsung, aside from their jurisdiction over the Miao soldiers, were also given considerable authority in Miao civilian affairs. In the tenth year of Chia Ch'ing /1805/ /107/ the t'un land within the Miao area were placed under the control of Miao officials. Article 8 of Pu Fu T'un t'ien Chang-ch'eng /The Ministry's Reply concerning Regulations about the T'un
M Land/ states: "It would seem that after the Miao rebels were
[429] pacified in the present year in the various localities of Yung-sui,

/107 cont./

C 175 631 563 M *175 631 *648 425 C M [701] C [651] the Miao were greatly impressed by the strength of the Imperial army and surrendered land previously forcefully occupied by them. Also it would seem that if there was property of refractory Miao; it was confiscated. The fields were distributed among the law-abiding Miao to plant and pay rent, so that a Miao army could be raised and supported. Now the usurped land surrendered in the various villages totals more than 30,100 mu, and the land confiscated from the property of the rebel Miao totals more than 5,040 mu. These are now being separately registered, distributed for tilling for rent, and the revenues derived therefrom should be able to support 5,000 Miao soldiers. Among the 9,900 native Miao soldiers discharged over time and remaining, those able to bring up a plan to make a living have been sent back to their villages, and those who are old, weak, and poor have been given fields to till. Now 5,000 strong and healthy Miao soldiers have been selected, 2,000 of whom come from Feng-huang sub-prefecture; 800, from Kan-chou sub-prefecture; 1,800 from Yung-sui sub-prefecture; 100, from Ku-chang-p'ing sub-prefecture; and 300, from Pao-ching hsien. To collect the grain given over as rent, the Miao petty officers have selected in the various villages spots for building granaries to store away the public grain. Two or three honest Miao officers are chosen for each granary to supervise receipts and disbursements of the grain. The said 35,000 mu of arable land is estimated to be capable of yielding more than 22,000 shih of seeds of grain. It is estimated that there remain in various Miao granaries about 40 shih of seeds of grain, which will be used to fill the need for rations for the Miao soldiers in the intercalary month. The Miao officers are still ordered to report the actual receipts of rent grain every year." (1)

C 651 175 631 563 M *175 631 *648 ●622

1. "Chün T'un" in Hunan Miao Fang T'un Ch'eng Kao /Study of the Administration of the Defense T'un of the Miao Area in Hunan/, Vol. 5, pp. 56-57.

M [113]

2:Ling & Ruey--156 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
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/107 cont./

Miao Area in Hunan/,
Vol. 5, pp. 56-57.

Thus a Miao official was a military official having concurrent judicial and financial duties, whose power actually was equivalent to that of a t'u-szu /headman/. The only difference was that the position was not hereditary. As for the procedure of appointment, according to a reply from the Board of War in the twenty-eighth year of Tao Kuang /1848/, Miao Pei P'ieh Chi Ta /?/ Chang-ch'eng /Regulations concerning the Commissioning of Petty Officers of Miao Defense/, it is stated: "The 486 Miao officers in the five sub-prefectures and hsien of Ku-chang-p'ing, consisting of shou-pei, ch'ien-tsung, pa-tsung, and wai-wei, were recommended by the sub-prefectures and hsien to Ch'en-yüan tao for approval, and then commissioned with official seals by the governor-general, governor, and provincial commander-in-chief. According to the regulations for the promotion of Miao t'un officers, a pa-tsung is considered by the tao and then appointed by the Board; the wai-wei is appointed directly by the tao, and when the pa-tsung becomes due for promotion to ch'ien-tsung, his commission must be confirmed by the governor-general and governor, and when the ch'ien-tsung is promoted to shou-pei, his record must be examined by the commander-in-chief. Today, in the appointment of Miao petty officers, even wai-wei have to be commissioned by the governor-general and governor, hence there is a great deal of red tape involved. It is recommended that the Miao defense petty officers can be selected according to the regulations governing the t'un petty officers of the tao troups /piao, "banner"/. Hereafter the Miao wai-wei and pa-tsung are to be changed to be appointed by the tao, the Miao ch'ien-tsung to be appointed by the provincial governor with official seal, and the shou-pei to be appointed by the governor-general. The Board of War has found that the previous procedure of appointing Miao officials, through joint deliberation of the provincial governor-general, governor, and commander-in-chief is /108/ too involved,

C /108 cont./
175 and in order to simplify it the recommendations in the memorial
631 of the said governor-general should be followed." From this it
563 may be seen that in the beginning, the appointment of a Miao
701 official was regarded as a serious matter. A petty officer such
M as a wai wei had to be commissioned by the governor-general
*175 and governor.
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(2) The Organization of Miao Officials

With regard to the organization of Miao officials at that time, it differed somewhat in the five hsien and sub-prefectures of the Miao region. Feng-huang sub-prefecture had four ying /battalions/: the middle ying's two Miao shou-pei /second captains/, four ch'ien-tsung /lieutenants/, six pa-tsung /sergeants/, and 20 wai wei /corporals/ were in charge of 96 villagers, totaling 2,680 families, consisting of 6,230 men and 3,479 women. The left ying's two Miao shou-pei, three ch'ien-tsung, six pa-tsung, and 15 wai wei are in charge of 63 villages, totaling 2,387 families, consisting of 5,795 men and 4,673 women. The right ying's four Miao shou-pei, seven ch'ien-tsung, 13 pa-tsung, and eleven wai-wei were in charge of 179 villages, totaling 4,191 families, comprising 9,710 men and 6,090 women. The front ying's three shou-pei, six ch'ien-tsung, 12 pa-tsung, and 14 wai wei were in charge of 191 villages, totaling 3,985 families, comprising 8,466 men and 5,162 women. The above eleven shou-pei, 20 ch'ien-tsung, 37 pa-tsung, and 60 wai wei, totaling 128 Miao petty officers, were in charge of 529 villages, 13,243 families with 30,201 men and 19,404 women, a total population of 49,605. From the various families 2,000 Miao soldiers were chosen, 400 of them being soldiers receiving rations. (1)

M [162]

M [162]

1. Feng-huang T'ing Chih, Vol. 11.

M [162]

Kan-ch'eng was also divided into four ying — the middle, left, right, and front yings. The middle ying's one Miao

/108 cont./
shou-pei, two ch'ien-tsung, three pa-tsung, and six wai-wei were in charge of 15 villages, with 425 families, comprising 981 men and women. The left ying's one Miao shou-pei, two ch'ien-tsung, four pa-tsung, and eight wai-wei were in charge of 86 villages, totaling 1,784 families with 5,992 men and women. The right ying's one Miao shou-pei, one ch'ien-tsung, four pa-tsung, and five wai-wei were in charge of 18 villages, with 701 families, comprising 1,095 men and women. The front ying's one Miao shou-pei, one ch'ien-tsung, two pa-tsung, /109/ and six wai-wei administered eleven villages, consisting of 430 families, with 993 men and women. The above four Miao shou-pei, six ch'ien-tsung, 13 pa-tsung, and 25 wai-wei, totaling 48 Miao petty officers, controlled 130 villages, 3,340 families with 7,061 men and women. Moreover, 800 Miao soldiers were recruited from the various families. (1)

1. Kan-chou T'ing Chih, Vol. 7.

In the organization at Yung-sui, they were known as li, not ying. The whole region was divided into 12 li, each li having one shou-pei. The Upper Fifth Li had one Miao shou-pei, one ch'ien-tsung, two pa-tsung, three wai-wei, 15 fighting soldiers /chan ping/, and 85 guard soldiers /shou ping/, controlling 840 families, with 4,192 men and women. The Lower Fifth Li had one Miao shou-pei, one ch'ien-tsung, two pa-tsung, six wai-wei, 15 fighting soldiers, and 129 guard soldiers, over 446 families with 1,440 men and women. The Upper Sixth Li had one Miao shou-pei, three ch'ien-tsung, four pa-tsung, nine wai-wei, 22 fighting soldiers, and 129 guard soldiers, over 992 families with 4,101 men and women. The Lower Sixth Li had one Miao shou-pei, two ch'ien-tsung, seven pa-tsung, nine wai-wei, 29 fighting soldiers, and 129 guard soldiers, in control of 1,307 families with 6,386 men and women. The Upper Seventh Li had one Miao shou-pei,

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/109 cont./

three ch'ien-tsung, six pa-tsung, eight wai-wei, 61 fighting soldiers, and a guard force of 154, controlling an area of 726 families with 2,767 men and women. The Lower Seventh Li had one Miao shou-pei, three ch'ien-tsung, six pa-tsung, 12 wai-wei, 48 fighting soldiers, and a guard force of 133 men, governing 1,109 families with 4,313 men and women. The Upper Eighth Li had one Miao shou-pei, one ch'ien-tsung, no pa-tsung, four wai-wei, nine fighting soldiers, and 61 guard soldiers, governing 302 families with 1,298 men and women. The Lower Eighth Li had one Miao shou-pei, two ch'ien-tsung, five pa-tsung, seven wai-wei, 48 fighting men, and a guard force of 135 men, controlling 595 families with 1,650 men and women. The Upper Ninth Li /110/ had one Miao shou-pei, three ch'ien-tsung, eight pa-tsung, 14 wai-wei, 32 fighting men, and a guard force of 138 men, governing 2,337 families with 9,413 men and women. The Lower Ninth Li had one Miao shou-pei, three ch'ien-tsung, six pa-tsung, 14 wai-wei, 32 fighting men, and a guard force of 138 men, governing 1,480 families with 7,264 men and women. The Upper Tenth Li had one Miao shou-pei, three ch'ien-tsung, eight pa-tsung, 21 wai-wei, 19 fighting men, and a guard force of 131 men, governing 1,128 families with 4,529 men and women. The Lower Tenth Li had one Miao shou-pei, three ch'ien-tsung, five pa-tsung, ten wai-wei, 18 fighting soldiers, and a guard force of 82 men, governing 843 families with 3,600 men and women. The above 12 Miao shou-pei, 28 ch'ien-tsung, 57 pa-tsung, and 115 wai-wei were set up in the second year of Chia Ch'ing /1797/ when the 100-family system was abolished. These lower officials went back and forth, controlling the scattered Miao in the various li. The guard force of 1,800 men was set up in the tenth year /1805/ and its men were retained from the Miao soldiers of the disbanded t'u t'ang /?/. The 384 fighting men were appointed in 1805 and picked from among the guard soldiers. (1)

1. Yung-sui T'ing Chih, Vols. 6 and 15.

2:Ling & Ruey--160 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
Central China AF14

/110 cont./

C 175 631 563 701 The fourth, sixth, seventh, and eighth tu /subdivision of a hsien/ in Pao-ching each had a Miao shou-pei, nine ch'ien-tsung, 12 pa-tsung, 31 wai-wei, and 300 Miao soldiers. (2)

M *175 631 *648 622 701 [162]

2. Pao-ching Hsien Chih, Vol. 5.

The Miao officials appointed at Ku-chang-p'ing included one shou-pei, two ch'ien-tsung, four pa-tsung, 12 wai-wei, and 100 Miao soldiers, controlling 58 Miao villages. (3)

3. Ku-chang-p'ing T'ing Chih, Vol. 2.

Regulations concerning Miao officials were set up in the second year of Chia Ch'ing (1797), and were still in existence when the authors were carrying out their investigations in the Miao area in 1933. The four yings — front, left, right, and middle — at Feng-huang have been made into eleven yings due to the presence of eleven shou-pei. The subdivisions of Pao-ching formerly called tu are now called ch'ü, but the structure remains the same.

C 631 563 701 [169] M 701 631 *648 622 Since the Miao rebellion during the Ch'ien-Lung reign period /1736-95/, the authorities have prohibited Chinese from entering Miao country. Furthermore, since the Miao dreaded seeing Chinese officials, then the Miao shou-pei, ch'ien-tsung, pa-tsung, and wai-wei were set up with the responsibility of controlling the Miao. In cases when the Miao were involved in such affairs as fights or theft, these petty officers were charged with the responsibility of apprehending the offenders. For the official despatches to be sent it was necessary to rely on them to get the messengers, and the pressing for rents and grain were also under the Miao officials' control. Moreover, the Miao petty officials were asked to submit seasonal affidavits as to whether there were Chinese entering the Miao villages.

[Text continues on p165]

CM 631 622 701

The following table shows the results of our investigations: /111/

Hsien	Ying	Name of Native Head	Guard Station
Feng-huang	Upper Middle Ying	Lung Fu-shou	Mao-tu-t'ang
	Lower Middle Ying	Wu Tsung-ch'ing	Hsin-tung-p'ing
	Upper Left Ying	Wu Fang-ming	Pao-mu-ying
	Lower Left Ying	Wu Hsiu-ch'ing	San-kung-ch'iao
	Right Ying	Lung En-te	Ya-pao-chai
	Upper Right Ying	Lung Feng-wu	Lung-chüeh-tung
	Right Ying	Wu Shao-hai	Chuang-chi-chai
	Lower Right Ying	Lung Tsung-chieh	Ta-t'ien
	Upper Front Ying	Shih Chao-pin	Hsin-chai
	Middle Front Ying	Wu Ch'ing-te	T'ien-p'ing
	Lower Front Ying	Wu Cheng-ying	Ku-sang-ying
Total		11	
Kan-ch'eng	Middle Ying	Wu Chia-chu	San-ch'a-p'ing
	Left Ying	Yang Sheng-pao	Ch'ü-chia-chai
	Right Ying	Shih Yung-chi	Hsi-ch'üeh-chai
	Front Ying	Yang Tsai-chen	Meng /?/ Ch'e
Total		4	

/Upper left quarter/

e M 631 .627 701

/Lower left quarter/

Ku-chang	Lung-pi-tsui Ying /Dragon Snout Ying/	Lung Ch'ing-nung	Nung-pi-tsui
Total		1	
Pao-ching	Fourth Ch'ü	Wu Chung-ch'ing	Pe-ho-t'ien
	Sixth Ch'ü	Hung Yung-liang	Hu-lu-chai
	Seventh Ch'ü	Shih Ch'ing-sung	Pi-tzu-chai
	Eighth Ch'ü	Liang Kuang-yung	Shui-t'ien
Total		4	
/112/ Yung-sui	Upper Fifth Li	Lung Sheng-hsin	Tung-k'a-chai
	Lower Fifth Li	Shih Wei-hsin	Ch'ien-ch'ang-chai
	Upper Sixth Li	Shih Ming-yüan	Pan-li-chai
	Lower Sixth Li	Shih Tsung-huang	Chia-ming-chai
	Upper Seventh Li	Lung Ch'ang-yao	Chien-yen-chai
	Lower Seventh Li	Wu Ting-k'uei	La-wu-chai
	Upper Eighth Li	Wu Ch'eng-chang	Ta-pai-wu
	Lower Eighth Li	Lung Kuo-han	Ya-pao-chai
	Upper Ninth Li	Ma Ch'ang-shun	Pai-ta-k'ou
	Lower Ninth Li	Shih Tuan-ch'u	Wei-ch'eng-chai
	Upper Tenth Li	Shih Chin-yüan	Pai-pu-mei
	Lower Tenth	Wang Kuo-ch'ang	Pai-liao-chai
Total		12	
Grand Total		32	

CM 631 L22 701

/112 cont./

Number of Petty Officers and Soldiers					Total Numbers		
Ch'en-tsung	Pa-tsung	Wai-wei	Fighting Soldiers	Guard Soldiers	Petty Officers	Soldiers	Total Ying Complement
2	4	8	30	150	14	180	194
2	3	9	30	140	14	170	184
2	4	6	30	190	12	220	232
1	3	8	80	200	12	280	292
2	5	9	55	152	16	207	223
2	2	6	54	114	10	168	178
2	4	6	43	136	12	179	191
1	2	4	58	91	7	149	156
2	5	10	17	182	17	199	216
1	3	5	2	65	9	67	76
3	5	9	1	180	17	181	198
20	40	80	400	1,600	140	2,000	2,140
2	2	6	48	157	10	205	215
2	7	10	40	191	19	231	250
2	4	3	40	154	9	194	203
		6	32	138	6	170	176
6	13	25	160	640	44	800	844

/Upper right quarter/

CM
631
•622
701

Central China AF 14

/Lower right quarter/

2	4	12		100	18	100	118
2	4	12		100	18	100	118
1	1	2	8	42	4	50	54
3	5	9	19	61	17	80	97
3	4	15	21	79	22	100	122
2	2	5	12	58	9	70	79
9	12	31	60	240	52	300	352
1	3	3	14	81	7	95	102
1	3	6	14	81	9	95	104
3	4	9	28	162	16	190	206
2	7	9	54	121	18	175	193
3	4	8	56	168	15	224	239
3	6	12	66	176	21	242	263
1		4	9	68	5	77	82
2	4	7	38	91	13	129	142
3	8	12	36	142	23	178	201
3	6	14	30	142	23	172	195
3	8	21	17	139	32	156	188
3	5	10	18	49	18	67	85
28	57	115	380	1,420	200	1,800	2,000
65	126	263	1,000	4,000	454	5,000	5,454

2:Ling & Ruey--165 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
Central China AF14

/112 cont./

The policy of having Miao officials to govern the Miao has been in practice now for 140 years. At the time of the original separation of the execution and administrative functions between the Chinese and the Miao, the idea of Miao regulating the Miao could be said to have been aimed at the abuses of the time. But now after a hundred and some tens of years, the Miao have gradually been sinicized. Formerly, there was the difference between the civilized and uncivilized Miao, but today they have all become civilized. The policy of separate administration for the Miao and the Chinese has been informally discarded. Consequently, the regulations for Miao officials should be abolished. But, since the Republic, the Miao officials are still able to exist, largely because Chinese officials have been profiting by taking bribes for filling official posts. On the other hand, since the Miao officials get their positions through paying bribes, they go to great lengths to make extortions from the Miao people. The Miao people detest the Miao petty officials more than they do the Chinese officials. Moreover, today, the various hsien in the Miao area have been changed to the system of hsiang /villages/ and chen /towns/, each governed by a head, known as hsiang chang or chen chang, respectively. In view of this change, Miao officials have become superfluous. It is hoped that the authorities in the region will be able to do away with them soon.

/113/

CHAPTER SEVEN

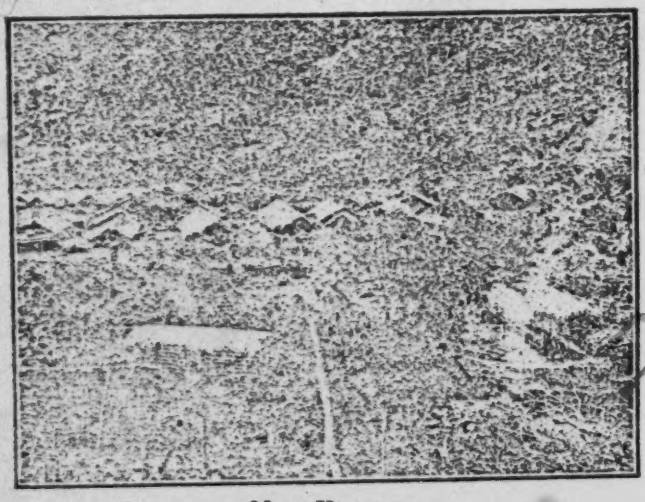
T'UN FIELDS

(1) Successive Changes in T'un Defense

Trouble with the Miao in western Hunan began in the Ming dynasty. But because of using an administrative policy of blockade against Miao country, the 270 years under the Ming

3: Moninger E-5 (no date) 1921 AE5 Miao AE5

and breaking his legs. In reverse order, when you leave you toil up a hill. That is the plan of all the villages—built in a valley between high hills, and near a stream. Doubtless two factors cause this choice of location—one the need of water and one the protection from robbers that the inaccessible position affords.



MIAO VILLAGE.

The villages vary in size from six or eight houses to forty or fifty. White-water-tail, an average sized village, has I think about twenty houses. The villages are loosely organized under two or three head men, one of whom looks after taxes or rents of fields if any have to be paid, and one of whom is charged with welcoming any guests and looking after any strangers who come. Hainanese trader, European explorer or Christian missionary, woe betide you if you do not go to this head man's house when you first arrive, otherwise you will find it impossible to obtain food and shelter in the village. These men seem to be chosen by common consent when a village is built and apparently hold office as long as the village remains in that location, barring unusual conditions. If new families join a village, it must be with the consent of both villages concerned.

When the site of a village has been selected, the houses are set down wherever the builder chooses to put them, so in very few villages are there anything like straight lanes between the houses. (Streets would be too much of a misnomer to use in this connection). As the houses are built, curving, twisting, snake-like paths develop between

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

462 241 and transporting it therefrom. They helped with the carrying out of grain and carrying it in again at night, when it had been spread on the mats.

462 252 One or two men swung the large wooden mallets by means of which glutinous rice paste was beaten in a stone mortar to the right consistency for shaping. Men did the butchering of animals. They did most of the cutting of tobacco and the making of its leaves into festoons for drying.

462 342 412 Men worked in large groups to bring the stone for a building's foundation, transport, bark and trim the logs, and from them make planks and beams. They fitted them together according to the directions of a head carpenter and set up the frame. They did the roofing of houses, whether the laying on of thatch or the placing of tile. They also made articles of wood, such as the wooden parts of some tools and implements, water casks, and buckets, and of bamboo, such as baskets, scoops, and mats. There were no special craftsmen in the village other than those who were especially skilled in the making of wooden and bamboo articles. When a building was constructed the owner made the stone foundation and other villagers barked the logs, sawed the planks, shaped the pieces of the frame, assembled it under the direction of one old man. Men might be called in from other villages for this work. In Yang-niu-ts'un local men not only did the work of building a new house but also made articles needed in it.

462 855 ●622 875 648 Men sometimes took charge of children, even to carrying a baby on the back while plowing. They were apt to be more indulgent than the mothers, and the children enjoyed being with them. Contacts with the outside world, other than a certain amount of buying and selling and social visiting with other Cowrie Shell Miao, were carried on by the men. Certain men of the village were heads of a *pao*, ten families, the smallest division in the Chinese political system of the district, and one older man with leisure and education was the chief of these. Small matters came before them, and only when they could not settle a matter was it taken to the *lien* (group of) *pao*, perhaps even to the *hsien* officials. Two men in this village have been teachers in the local school.

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

where we find them now. Tongking, which the Ya-ch'io Miao pronounce as the Chinese do *Tung-chin*, may be one of the old capitals of China called "The Eastern Metropolis."[1]

Till recent times the Miao, while actually subject to China, were ruled by their own hereditary chiefs. This system is now passing away, if it has not already ceased to exist. We have heard of Miao chiefs still exercising hereditary authority at the present time, but we have not met them or been, so far as we know, in their districts. The men now responsible for their districts and fellow-tribesmen to the Imperial magistrates are appointed by those magistrates. These men are called *Tuan* or headmen, just as the same sort of men are called by the same name among the Chinese. These are something like Justices of the Peace in England, having authority in their own jurisdiction to settle minor disputes, while all serious cases are tried by the Chinese magistrate. These headmen are also responsible for the collection of the land tax. Among the Miao they are generally very ignorant men, not able to read and write. Thus it appears that the

[1] Peking = Northern Capital. Nanking = Southern Capital. Tungking = Eastern Capital. Compare the Japanese Tokio (Tungking) = Eastern Capital.

7:, Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

Miao are ruled much in the same way as the Chinese who live in villages and hamlets. 622

The Miao are, we have many reasons to think, more litigious than the Chinese, constantly going "to have the law" on some one, or some one going "to have the law" on them. In many cases the affair is brought before the local headman, but on these occasions it is difficult to satisfy both parties, and the loser is almost certain to carry the case before the district magistrate. It is amazing to note how much of their time and money these people spend in legal proceedings, and very often fail to get justice after all. But it is a point of honour with them, and they think it due to themselves and their reputations to fight a case to the bitter end. 691

This love of litigation is encouraged by the secretaries and underlings in the various Yamen, who depend for their living principally on the law cases, civil and criminal, brought before the magistrate. If there were no litigation these men would starve. Thus cases that have been settled, and possibly justly settled, by the headman, can always be reopened before the district magistrate, and cases settled by one magistrate can be retried by his successor. This is not from any love of justice, but for the 691 661

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

769 Filial piety is the cardinal virtue and one of the main duties of a child is to commemorate and make offerings to his departed ancestors. All the memorial festivals but one are for this purpose and in all the seasonal festivals or those that come on regular dates throughout the year, offerings are made to the ancestors and they are commemorated in the usual way.

421 All property, such as tools, weapons, furniture, domestic animals, money, houses and fields, belongs to the family and after the death of the parents, when the family is broken up, it is divided among the sons of the deceased. Such things as clothing and personal ornaments belong to individuals.

671 Among the Ch'uan Miao there are no written laws. The customs and habits of the group are the laws and what is customary is right. Crimes are infractions against the customs or mores of the group.

619 625 There is no tribal organization. That is, there is no political organization that extends throughout the entire ethnic group. A locality may elect a headman, called a gy lʌu or old club, and the headmen of several different districts may cooperate for the general good, but the headmen are not bound together by an organization affecting the entire Ch'uan Miao region. If the Ch'uan Miao are a tribe, it is because they are physically related and have a common language, common customs, common ideals, and a common culture. These bind the people together more securely than could any political organization.

627 Minor offences may be settled between the two persons concerned. When this cannot be accomplished, the families of the two persons endeavor to solve the difficulty. In more weighty and difficult matters, the local headmen or a number of the older people of the district are called in. It is said that only one or two per cent of the worst cases are taken to the Chinese courts. The reasons are not far to seek. Litigation in Chinese courts is expensive and a Miao, since he is a member of a different race, is likely to be discriminated against. In addition he is at a disadvantage because he cannot read Chinese characters.

681 An offence or a grievance may be settled or recompensed for by the gift of a chicken, a duck, a pig, a goat or sheep, a cow, or some other object. Sometimes a beating is administered and sometimes the death penalty is exacted. It may be carried out by throwing the guilty party over a cliff or down a natural pit into the earth.

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?) 1954 AE5 Miao AE5

846 While the couvade is found among the Hua Miao neighbors
837 to the south,

evidence of this practice has yet been found among the Ch'uan Miao. The Ch'uan Miao, however, have a very strange custom: Certain female relatives of the man are his "guest-wives," and certain male relatives of a woman are her "guest-husbands." Without marriage they are allowed to practice sexual relations, and it is not regarded as wrong. In recent years, owing to Christian influence, there have been endeavors to discontinue this practice.

631 The Ch'uan Miao are not a tribe with a political organization that includes
622 the whole group. There are no tribal rulers, but they have local headmen, called *gü leo* or "old clubs," who sometimes cooperate for the common good. These people are an ethnic group bound together by common language, ideals, and customs and by a strong sense of unity. They are very sociable and mutually helpful.

SOCIAL LIFE AND CEREMONIES

517 Practically the only amusements of Ch'uan Miao women and girls are visiting, attending feasts, marriages, funerals, and other ceremonies, listening to people singing songs and watching the men dance and play the *liu sheng*, going to market, making love, and gossiping. They are supposed to use their spare time for sewing and making hemp thread and yarn and embroideries.

526 Among the more popular amusements of men and boys are hunting, kicking
536 the shuttlecock, and playing "snake protecting her eggs," blindman's buff, sham
273 battle, or dogs chasing wild animals. During the New Year holidays and at
276 weddings "playing lion" is a popular amusement. Both men and women smoke tobacco and drink wine. While the Miao have no theatricals, they often join the throngs and look at Chinese plays being performed in temples or in the open in Chinese towns and cities.

533 Like the other Miao groups in China, the Ch'uan Miao are lovers of music. Except the singing and the responses of go-betweens while making engagements, in contests between men and women, and in the newly established schools and chapels, there is no group singing. There is a kind of band music, but usually all the instruments play the same tune in unison. Generally the *liu sheng* is played by one man who dances, and vocalists sing one at a time while all listen with rapt attention. This singing of stories and songs is one of the principal amusements of the Ch'uan Miao.

The singing may be by either a man or a woman, generally of middle age or older. Nearly all the stories and myths and bits of history of the group have been made into songs and as such are handed down from generation to generation, taught by one singer to another. Some of the singers know only a few songs, but
212 there are some who know and can sing several hundred. It should be emphasized that the Ch'uan Miao have no written language or literature.

584 There is a great deal of love-making among the Ch'uan Miao, who have their share of pretty girls. Marriage is through go-betweens, and the arrangements are made between the older members of the two families, the bride and the groom often not even being consulted. There is a gift from the parents of the groom to those of the bride, and the value of the gift often determines whether the engagement is made.

/41 cont./

634 About twenty villages were under the jurisdiction of each great chief. He himself was elected for life by the plenary assembly of all the arms-bearing men of those villages over [666] which he was to rule. All the men over 16-17 years of age had the right to vote; women were excluded from voting.

It was left to each village to decide which great chief it wished to be under. If, therefore, after the death of a great chief who had ruled over twenty villages, twelve villages voted for one great chief and the remaining eight villages for another, two great chiefs were elected, and each one ruled over those villages that had elected him. As a consequence, after the death of each great chief the administrative unit changed, though this did not necessarily bring about a reduction in the size of the administrative units in the course of time, for every village wanted to be under the most powerful neighboring great chief.

634 687 There was an exception to the lifetime tenure of the great chief in case he was guilty of grave negligence. The village chiefs then convoked a new plenary assembly, which elected a new great chief. In any event, the election of the great chief took place in the largest village of the administrative district of the deceased or deposed great chief.

634 ●622 681 The great chief had to appoint the village chiefs. Moreover, he was the judge in all important affairs. If he meted out fines, the money involved was distributed according to the following system: the first part was distributed in equal shares to the arms-bearing men within his district. The second part was double the amount of the first and was distributed in equal shares to the village chiefs. The third part, three times the 634 amount of the first part, went to the great chief and constituted [681] an important source of income for him. He derived additional [651] income from the tax which had to be paid once a year and amounted to four piasters (equivalent to about one mark) per person and one piaster for each rice field. The great chief could use the money as he saw fit.

/42/

634 In order to have his orders carried out, the great chief had
701 at his command all the arms-bearing men in his administrative district, but he was not permitted to abuse his power of command in such a way as to prevent his subjects from eaming their livelihood.

622 As has been mentioned, the great chief appointed the
634 village chiefs (šǎu pā) in the villages under his jurisdiction. Like him, they were appointed for life unless they committed a grave offense. In such cases, the arms-bearing men of the
[692] village brought their complaints against their village chief to
[687] the great chief. The latter investigated the case and appointed another village chief if he felt that there was sufficient justification.

[692] The village chief was, first of all, the judge in all minor matters. Moreover, he had to collect the taxes for the great
[651] chief and see to it that the great chief's orders were carried out. Parallel to the authority of the great chief, the village
[701] chief had at his disposal the arms-bearing men in his village, to whom he gave corresponding orders. Naturally, therefore, the same limitations applied to him as to the great chief.

622 The great chief had four or five officials at his disposal;
624 the village chief had one official. The orders were first of all
634 conveyed to them, and they were called upon for any task that their superior assigned to them. They were paid either by the great chief or by the village chief, depending on who their superior was, from his own pocket. There were no other officials in the true sense of the word.

622 The village chief's income consisted of his share of the
634 aforementioned fines meted out by the great chief, also the
681 fines that the village chief himself imposed in minor cases, and the minor services that the men and women of his village performed voluntarily.

c) Popular Assembly

623 The popular assembly has special importance among the
634 Meau. There are two kinds of popular assemblies.

AKha AO4
Miao AE5

/107 cont./

M 593 123 had had a dispute with her husband and had fled for a few days to the house of her parents, who did not want to let her go again because they were sick and urgently needed their daughter as a worker. They wanted the daughter and the son-in-law to live with them a while. The latter, however, did not approve of this at all and heaped reproaches upon his wife. When I sent my interpreter to the husband, a young man bearly eighteen years old, in order to get his version of the story, he complained bitterly and said: "This woman is too strong for me. If we have a quarrel, she beats me! Look, you are big and strong; you could beat her. Would you not like to marry her?"

M [622] [627] With the help of the chief the dispute was finally settled in the peaceable manner of the Meau: the young woman returned to her husband, but from now on was allowed to help her parents with the work as often as they wished.

M 593 595 [177] [606] The position of young Meau wives has been strongly influenced by the Chinese and from our point of view is not very enviable. She has to show unquestioning obedience, first of all to her mother-in-law, secondly to her own husband, and thirdly to her father-in-law. If her husband has already married several wives, she must also obey all of them, as has already been mentioned. The only prospect she has is that eventually, when her husband has built his own house /108/ and the other wives who preceded her have died, she may occupy the coveted position of the nǎ thǒ. As soon as her husband has built his own house, the position of the young wife improves, for at that moment her obligation to obey her mother-in-law ceases. In view of the aforementioned compatibility of the Meau within the family community, however, the members of a household community generally get along very well. Unhappy wives are rare. I am inclined to say much rarer than in Europe. The daily work required in the struggle for survival leaves the people little time to worry about superfluous matters.

M [606]

A 595 [606] [422] Among the Akha, although the mother-in-law does not play such an important role in the life of the young woman, the first and therefore the chief wife of a husband enjoys all the more authority. All the wives wedded later must obey her unquestioningly; all the household furnishings, and sometimes

39: Bernatzik--321 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

Chapter 12

Law and the Administration of Justice

a) Property Law

423 [643] [634] [622] [596] [184] Among the Meau uncultivated land formerly belonged to the king, later to the great chief, and today to the village chiefs. Cultivated land belongs to the person who has planted or inherited it, that is to say, to the head of the large /extended/ family in question. Conditions seem to be the same in Tonkin, since both Lajonquière (1) and Abadie (2) confirm my observations.

1. II, pp. 319 and 320.

2. Page 164.

The latter points out that among the Meau who live near irrigated rice fields or especially fertile soil the property rights over landed property are precisely established. The land belongs to the person [428] who cultivates and manages it, and it is transferred by hereditary transmission.

423 622 628 The situation regarding landed property among the Meau in Thailand is regulated in a very practical way. Every village chief is free to take possession of uninhabited land, into which he moves. If another village is already present in the territory concerned, permission must be obtained from the village chief there, who, by his mere presence, originally took possession of the land. If there is enough cultivable land for all the parties, this permission is always granted in practice. No special fee or rent has to be paid.

423 596 622 Accordingly, the head of every large /extended/ family is free to cultivate the untilled land lying in the vicinity of the village, which, as such, belongs to the village chief, without the special permission of the latter.

AKha A04
Miao AE5

M /242/
426
[622]
[686]
In case of malicious nonpayment, which in practice almost never occurs, the creditor turns to the village chief, who will make use of his powers. If even his efforts are unsuccessful, the creditor has the right to kill the debtor.

Limitation of debts is unknown, but repayment in installments is customary. If a Meau debtor lives in a village other than the one where the creditor lives or moves to a different village, a sort of promissory note is made out. It consists of a piece of wood into which a notch is cut for the value of each ten pieces of silver. Thereupon the stick is split lengthwise in such a way that the halved notches remain on each of the sides of the stick. The creditor keeps one half of the stick; the debtor takes the other half with him. This practical custom seems to be very widespread among the Meau and not limited to Thailand. In any case Dhuraratsadorn (1) reports in similar fashion on the

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426
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[211]

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[184]

1. Page 172.

Meau in Tonkin.

If a creditor wants repayment from the debtor, he need not seek him out himself, but can ask someone else to demand the amount for him. He then gives the half of the stick to the messenger as identification. Upon presentation, the debtor is obliged to pay the messenger, identified by the half of the stick, the amount shown on the stick, beginning at the date agreed upon, provided that this half agrees with the one that remained with the debtor. On the other hand, if only partial payment is made, the old debt-stick is destroyed and a new one prepared showing the residual amount, and this is handled in the same way as the first. The messenger is then given a half of the stick to take back.

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The situation regarding property among the Akha differs considerably from that among the Meau. Uncultivated land belongs to no one; it is considered as unrestricted, as are hunting and fishing. Accordingly, the land may be taken into possession by any tribesman without further inquiry by merely beginning to clear and cultivate it. It is left entirely up to him to choose the land and the extent of the land. Since, however, land is usually

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A 426 [614] Limitation of debts is as unknown to the Akha as it is to the Meau. The Akha, too, are familiar with repaying a loan in installments, as well as with interest charges. Among the Akha, however, interest is collected from sib members as well as from /244/ outsiders. The interest rate is not fixed once and for all, but in each case is left to a voluntary arrangement by the partners.

A [768] [567] [858] After the death of a debtor, the heirs are responsible for debts which he was unable to settle before his demise. In contrast to the situation among the Meau, the creditor has no right with respect to tardy debtors to make slaves or debt prisoners of their children in lieu of payment. Also, there is no such absolute power over the debtor himself or the other members of his family. [686] The killing of a debtor is out of the question.

[675] [211] Among the Akha I did not find the making of a debt-stick or any custom similar to it.

b) Right of Succession

M 596 428 When the head of a large /extended/ family dies among the Meau, his estate is not divided up for the time being. The members of the large family remain together as before, and the oldest married son still living in the house of the deceased, in other words, a man not yet thirty years old, is the chief heir and assumes the privileges of the deceased. He cannot refuse the obligation and office which fall to him. If he nevertheless M [622] shuns them, the village chief has him summoned and reminds him of his duty.

If this son should be incapable of providing for the family of the deceased because of sickness or as a result of his physical or mental make-up, he is replaced by the second oldest son still living in the paternal home, provided that he has the necessary qualifications. In short, the place of the deceased head is taken by that son remaining in the house who has the required physical M [622] [692] qualifications and is next in age. In case of conflict, it is the business of the village chief to make the decision.

/246 cont./

428 blood relatives, as well as adopted brothers, receive no share
[597] in the inheritance as long as the direct heirs named are present.

Aside from possible fees, if the shaman has been asked to
[756] officiate at the burial, he, as well as the village chief, formerly
[622] the great chief, receives none of the estate. The distribution
[634] of the estate takes place under the supervision of the principal heir, who also receives the clothing of his deceased father.

Even if there are no sons, but daughters are present, they
[562] are still excluded from the inheritance. In this case, the
[596] oldest brother of the deceased moves into his house as the chief heir and new head of the large family, takes over all the property of the deceased, and provides for the girls as though he were the only son. In practice this situation probably never
[597] happens, for the head of a large family to whom daughters were born, but not sons would have adopted a boy in time. The latter would then marry one of the daughters and become the sole heir. /247/ Dhuraratsadorn (1) reports in a similar vein:

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1. Page 169.

"Girls receive nothing, unless the deceased is survived exclusively by unmarried daughters. If the deceased is survived only by married daughters, all of whom have left the paternal home, they inherit nothing at all, and the estate passes to the closest
[597] male relative. An exception is made if a woman and her husband live under one roof with her parents (adoption). In this case the estate is divided between her and the son of the deceased. Her husband cannot inherit from his parents, since he has given up all ties of kinship with his natural parents."

428 The situation is similar in case of childlessness. In such
[597] cases, too, the man would long before have adopted one or probably several boys, who would have the same rights as natural sons. If a Meau should die after he has lost all his sons,
[596] which may happen in epidemics, the oldest brother of the
[764] deceased becomes the principal heir, who moves into the house
[589] of the deceased, takes care of the funeral, and with whom the widows remain as a rule. Nevertheless, in this, as in every other

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M 428 [589] [596] [605] [622] [764]

/247 cont./ case, the widows are free to decide whether to stay or to marry again. If there are no brothers of the deceased, the oldest cousin takes their place; if cousins, too, are lacking, the village chief takes care of the burial and distributes the estate among the house owners of his village.

Among the Akha, under somewhat different regulations, the oldest son of the deceased is the principal heir; if there is no son, the oldest brother.

A 428 [596]

Among the Akha, however, the principal heir takes over only the house of the deceased. The other possessions, such as money, domestic animals, house furnishings, implements, and supplies, are distributed equally among all the sons of the deceased, without waiting for the death of the wife or wives of the former head. If there are no surviving sons, the brothers of the deceased take their place. At any rate, the female members of the family of the deceased, regardless of whether they are widows or daughters, are not considered any more than they are among Meau. They retain only the clothing and the few ornaments that represent their meager personal property, and otherwise they go completely empty-handed.

A [562] [422]

A [595]

/248/ If the chief wife dies, her husband inherits everything, even her personal clothing. Usually, however, he then distributes the latter among the other women who belong to the household.

A [756] [622]

Among the Akha, too, other persons, such as the chief or shaman, have no claim to the estate. Testamentary dispositions are possible only within the legal inheritance regulations. The father of a family, for instance, may, during his lifetime, specify which of his sons should inherit, say, a ring that he particularly values. He can thus pass over the principal heir and bestow the article on a younger son. He cannot, however, bequeath any article of his property to a friend or blood brother outside the family.

A [572] [608]

/249 cont./

847 Deliberate abortion is unknown.

681 The most common punishment is whipping, which the village chief may also order. It is meted out in connection with lies, slandering, insults, and similar offenses and is administered with a cowhide whip which is greased and made pliable over a fire before being used. Moreover, whipping is often inflicted in addition to the frequent fines in money or property; it is also used when fines in money are not brought in. In such a case, one stroke is given for each piece of silver.

681 685 In cases of theft up to the value of ten pieces of silver, the thief must simply return the stolen goods and, for the first such offense which is proved against him, is merely warned. Recidivous thieves, on the other hand, must expect corporal punishment, which is meted out in addition to fines in money or goods. Thus, recidivous thieves of produce, domestic animals, and similar goods may be sentenced to mutilation and to the amputation of the third, fourth, or fifth finger of one hand as well as half of the left ear. These punishments can also be meted out if a person is unable to pay the fine in money to which he was sentenced.

685 693 If the stolen goods represent a value of from 10 to 100 pieces of silver, fifty per cent more has to be paid as a fine, and in addition 20 to 30 pieces of silver has to be paid to the judge for his services. If the value exceeds 100 pieces of silver, the entire estimated cost of the loot, that is, 100 per cent, must be paid as a fine, and, in addition, far greater charges for the judge.

681 567 Imprisonment is unknown, as is emasculation or outright selling into slavery. This seems to be in contradiction to the legal practice of handing over the children of debtors to the creditor for his disposal in lieu of payment. /250/ If one recalls, however, that among the Meau adoption is very common and that even traders deal in the trade of human beings only from this point of view of the Meau, be it for adoption or marriage, the apparent contradiction disappears.

/250 cont./

683 754 Since the Meau do not believe that black magic is practiced among their tribesmen, there is no punishment for it. Outlawing is likewise unknown.

692 622 634 [689] Offenses against custom are judged by the village chief or the great chief. Crimes, which very rarely occur among the Meau, are judged by the great chief. In such cases the village elders and the village chief appear as examining magistrates. Dhuraratsadorn (1), too, points out that homicide and

674 114

1. Page 171.

crimes of violence are for the most part unknown within the family community, which he designates erroneously as "clan." He assumes that robbery might occur if it becomes known that a member of the community has received a large sum of money through the sale of opium or the like. The author then continues by saying that this offense had never occurred in the district of San Mahapon with which he is familiar, but characteristically he explains this not on the basis of the morality of the Meau, but by their custom of not carrying any money with them, much less keeping it in their houses, but of carefully hiding it somewhere. I was unable to confirm the custom of "money-hiding" among the Meau, but I did find it among the Lahu; hence I assume that there is some confusion on the part of the author. [454]

682 The punishment for murder in connection with robbery or homicide is execution. It is reported of some Meau tribes in China (2) that buffalo were paid as a fine for homicide. Only [634]

2. Eberhard, II, p. 252.

685 439 the great chief, however, can give the sentence. The same punishment befalls anyone who commits simple robbery or theft from traveling merchants. The harsh appraisal of this offense goes back to the fact that the traveling merchants, all of them Chinese, bring wares that are important to the Meau, but those areas in which there is danger of robbery and theft would be avoided.

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/252 cont./

A M 648 692 In general, however, this gives a rather theoretical picture of legal conditions. Only in very serious cases, and even then only as an exception, are legal cases brought to the law courts of the colonial powers by the mountain people. This usually happens only if a member of a mountain tribe has been in the service of members of other tribes for a long time or lives in a settlement of another tribe, which is rare. In such isolated instances, however, it may happen that such a tribesman will appear as defendant or plaintiff before the court of the colonial administration concerned.

The Akha in Kengtung as well as the Meau in Tonkin who are to a large extent controlled by the government of the colonial powers, settle almost all their cases in their own domain and in accordance with their customary law, so that not more than one per cent of their cases come before the official jurisdiction.

A 628 648 692 [631] /253/ It is different among the Akha when there are disputes to be settled between their various villages. Since the Akha today have no political organization beyond the village unit, they frequently turn to the chief of the nearest valley tribe and ask him to decide the issue (see the chapter, "Political Organization," the section, "Popular Assembly"). The latter, usually a Schan /Shan/ or Lao, then acts as a sort of arbitrator.

e) Legal Procedure in Characteristic Cases

M 692 In accordance with the very precisely organized political structure, the individual Meau is obliged to observe the established legal procedure in all cases. Self-help is therefore forbidden. Accordingly, blood vengeance is unknown, as are secret courts.

M 692 622 [685] [693] Among the Meau, thefts, insofar as trifles are involved, are at first simply put up with; in repeated cases, however, one turns to the village chief, who acts as judge in petty cases. He is the court of the first instance in all lawsuits. If the village is so large, however, that the village chief is too greatly occupied with other matters, then an older man of the village takes over

/253 cont./
692 the office of judge for him. In such cases, if an appeal is made
[622] against his decision, the village chief is then the next higher
[596] court. In disputes within a large family, the head of the family
[693] officiates. For serious decisions, assemblies under the chairmanship of the village chief or the great chief are convened, as I have reported in the chapter, "Political Organization."

695 The judge, with the help of witnesses, tries to determine the facts of the case. Special importance is attached to the testimony of the witnesses, and can be, according to my experience, because among the Meau the witnesses always tell the truth, at least subjectively. Dhuraratsadorn (1) seems to have

1. Page 170.

made similar observations: "They believe that the Meau witnesses always tell the truth. In case of a crime, the Meau seldom question witnesses. If someone accuses another, the accused is either convicted or punished, or he may deny his guilt, /254/ in which case a fine is imposed on the accuser in favor of the accused. If it later turns out that he falsely denied his guilt, he is expelled from the community and must leave the village, for otherwise he would be killed."
[681]
[626]

In case of a criminal offense for which there are no witnesses, the investigations are discontinued after three years. Nevertheless, there is no time limitation for crimes. Even if the perpetrator is not discovered until ten years later, perhaps accidentally, he is punished exactly as if he had just been caught in the act.

In civil-law cases, too, when the assertions of the parties are contradictory, the judge tries to determine the truth through witnesses. The underlying principle is that the plaintiff and not the accused must prove his assertions. Oaths and oath formulas are unknown. Witnesses, like the parties, are strictly obliged to
[577] tell the truth, regardless of whether or not it is damaging to the witness or whether there are ties of kinship with the parties or
[687] witnesses. A refusal to give testimony is not permitted; false statements are punished severely.

/254 cont./

692 Capital crimes, as well as civil cases in which the defeated
695 has lodged an appeal, are decided incontestably by the great chief.
The appeals are therefore as follows: an appeal against the
[634] verdict of the village elder goes to the village chief and one
[622] against the latter goes to the great chief. In special cases the verdict of the great chief can be appealed to the popular assembly, as has already been set forth in the chapter on "Political Organization," the section, "The Popular Assembly."

695 There is no appeal against the verdict of the popular
756 assembly. In ambiguous cases the judge turns to the shaman
[634] and instructs him to arrange for ordeals /Ordale/. Such ordeals take place before the popular assembly; they also play a role in criminal law. For example, the following ordeal is customary for the conviction of a criminal. The shaman makes a large carrying basket of split bamboo, which he covers with the clothing of a man. Next he looks among the girls of the village for two virgins, and, to make certain that all necessary conditions for the aims of the ordeal are actually fulfilled, he prefers to select two girls who are still immature and who must hold the basket on two sides. Then /255/ the accused burns several pieces of spirit-money and begs the high Father-Mother spirit to appear and make known the truth. As soon as the basket begins to sway, it is assumed that the high spirit has arrived. With a loud voice the accused now asks whether the high spirit has arrived, and it is assumed that the spirit is in the basket and is influencing the actions of the girls as soon as the covered basket again begins to sway. Next the shaman calls the names of all the suspects, one after the other. If the basket sways when one of the names is mentioned, the question is repeated two more times. If the basket is seen to move again, the culprit is regarded as convicted. If he nevertheless continues to deny his guilt, the shaman asks the girls to point out the culprit. If they now tap him on the shoulder, his guilt is regarded as proved.

/256 cont./

M 693 634 Besides the direct costs of the lawsuit, which at the least consist of the costs for food for all the persons involved in the case, there are for minor cases, two chickens and plenty of alcohol, and for major cases one or more pigs, which must be added for the great chief and the elders. Moreover, as soon as M 681 [634] the person is convicted or proved guilty, he has to pay the established fine, which is apportioned in accordance with a definite code, as soon as the decision is given by the great chief. Two-twelfths go to the arms-bearing men of the territory under the M [622] great chief; four-twelfths are distributed among the village chiefs of this territory, who use it chiefly to cover the expenses connected with their activities. They also use for this the smaller amounts which they impose independently in petty cases. M [634] The remaining six-twelfths, that is, half of the entire sum which the culprit has to pay, goes to the great chief alone and represents an important part of his income (see also the chapter, "Political Organization," the section, "Kingship and Chieftainship").

M 695 The verdict is given in accordance with definite judicial principles with which all the older men among the Meau are familiar, since this is a matter of customary law handed down for centuries.

M 673 When the verdict is given, a fundamental distinction is made between premeditation and negligence. Hence a deed is punished only if it was intentionally committed. Even for M [682] the negligent killing of a person, among the Meau the culprit is merely required to sacrifice a head of cattle for the soul of the dead.

A 692 622 693 /257/ As in almost all matters, the judicial procedure of the Akha also is considerably simpler and more primitive than that of the Meau. As has already been pointed out, the power of the village chief among the Akha is slight and cannot by any means be compared to that among the Meau. This is also apparent in the judicial procedure. Despite the fact that the Akha have no higher court, say, one comparable A [623] to the great chief of the Meau, beyond the office of the village chief, the village chief is not the supreme and therefore

39: Bernatzik--355 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
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Volume Two

/259/ Chapter 13

Settlement and House Construction

A M 166 361 The Meau as well as the Akha of Thailand are seminomads who change their residence sites every couple of years. They decide on such a move, however, by no means lightheartedly or out of nomadic impulses, as Credner (1) intimates, but rather

1. IV, p. 70.

compelling circumstances induce them to undertake the indescribable labor of moving a village. A M [241] [262] The main reason for it is the exhaustion of the cultivable soil as a result of cultivating clearings without fertilization. Depending on the fertility of the soil, it yields rice, the principal food of the population in northern Thailand, for two to four years. After four to ten years, all the cultivable land in the vicinity of a village is exhausted, and the people must contemplate a move if they do not want to starve. A M [648] Other important reasons are warlike events and legal insecurity, especially in China, or the imposition of taxes that are too high, as in Burma or Indochina (see the chapter, "Cultural Change and Colonial-Ethnological Problems among the Mountain Peoples in Thailand," the section, "Attitude of the Various Colonizers").

M 166 361 [731] [756] [623] [622] The Meau also move their villages if epidemics have broken out or if the shaman predicts a misfortune for the village. Among the Meau the decision to move the village is made by the assembly of all the men of the village capable of bearing arms (see the chapter, "Political Organization," the section, "Popular Assembly"). In the assembly, the opinion of the chief, as well as that of the shaman, carries great weight. The wish of the two is decisive, not theoretically, but in practice.

/265 cont./

592 621 [551] is the shaman of the village. Personal name, Plai Tschau; family name, Sen Ku. He is a /266/ brother of the deceased father of the chief. The housewife comes from the Meau village Muang Hu (north of Luang Prabang). Eight of her children died at a later age, presumably of malaria. Three of them [164] died only a year ago within one week, which indicates an [734] epidemic. The youngest son, 23 years of age, is completely paralyzed. He lives in the house with his young wife.

[513] House 4: It has only one open bedroom for the entire family, and one for strangers. The father of the house is a son of the shaman. The housewife comes from the Meau village of Pu Kung; she has three boys and two girls. One child died.

[342] [513] House 5: The walling of the house is merely halved bamboo stalks. It has only one sleeping area for the father and the infant. The married son and his wife sleep on mats on the [551] ground. The father of the house is a White Meau with the personal name of Tschai Su, family name Tau. The housewife died a short time ago and five children have died; only the oldest son and an infant are living.

[622] [551] House 6: House of the village chief (see the ground plan, Fig. 63). Personal name, Pan Sung; family name, Sen Ku (the Lao call him Tsin Tsai). By his first wife, who died four years [587] ago, he had 11 children, one of whom died. By his second, present wife he has two children, two and three years of age. His wife brought seven children into the marriage. In addition, he [595] has in his house the cousin of the White Meau of house 5 as his secondary wife, but no children by her. Two married sons with wives also live in the house.

House 7; See the groundplan, Fig. 67. The father of the [551] house is a White Meau: personal name, You Wu; family name, Tau. He is the youngest brother of the father of house 5, that [750] is to say, the cousin of the third wife of the chief. The housewife is a White Meau and a female shaman. She had seven children; three adult sons died two years ago, one after another, [731] of cholera. The surviving members of the family therefore fled [164] to relatives in Nam Fa.

39: Bernatzik--371 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
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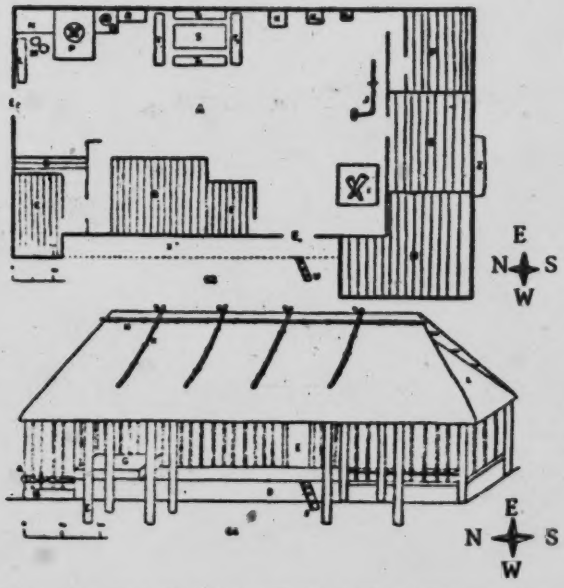

Fig. 63 (above). Chief's house in the Meau village Nam Fa, ground plan.

Key to symbols:

= heavy board walls
= light board walls
..... = ground elevated about 50 centimeters

A = cooking and living room
B = bedroom of the chief and his two wives
C = bedroom of the eldest son and his wife
D = bedroom of the half-grown daughter, who sleeps alone on account of a skin disease
E = bedroom of the unmarried son
F = bedroom of the younger son and his wife
G = common bedroom for all the other children
H = sleeping and resting place for guests and strangers
I = large fireplace
J = built-in large rice-mortar for foot operation
K = altar for the house spirit
K 1 = altar for the wise, soothsaying spirit
K2 = altar for the protective spirit of the smiths
L = trough for collecting food remains for the pigs

(cont.)

39: Bernatzik--372 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
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Caption for Fig. 63 cont.

M = heavy clay pots with cooked pig-fodder, which is scooped out for use
N = hanging shelf for kitchen utensils
P = larger hearth for cooking
Q = smaller hearth for cooking
R = parking bench
S = family dining table
T 1 to T 4 = sitting benches
U = stairs, tree trunk with notches
X = raised entrance foundation
Z = built-on dye-trough
E 1 = main entrance door
E 2 = secondary entrance door.

Fig. 64 (below). Chief's house in the Meau village Nam Fa, sketch.

Key to symbols:

A = board wall
B = board fastened in front of the wall
C = supporting posts which support the projecting roof
D = elevated forepart
E = main entrance
F = tree trunk with notches as stairs to the entrance E
G = chicken coop
H = longitudinal bamboo poles tied to the roof truss, which hold down the leaf covering on the ridge
K = roof riders of wood rest on the leaf covering and are fastened to the roof truss
L = hip roof on both sides of the house.

39: Bernatzik--373 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
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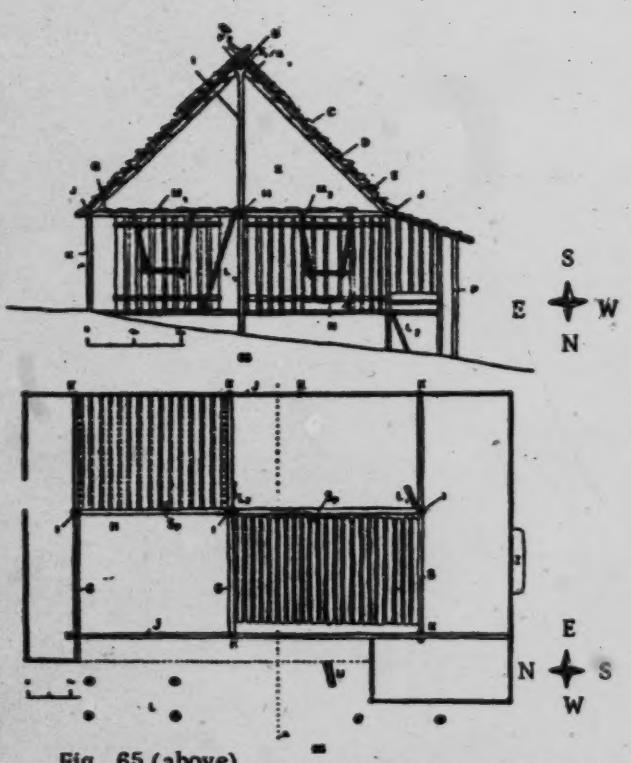

Fig. 65 (above). Chief's house in the Meau village Nam Fa, cross-section.

Key to symbols:

A = roof rider
B = ridge stringer
C = rafter
D = laths
E = roof covering of palm leaves
F 1 and F 2 = poles which are tied on both sides of the ridge for fastening the palm leaves on the roof truss. The roof riders lie on these poles.
G = crossbeam of roof
H = roof beam
I = ridge posts
J = longitudinal roof beam
K = supporting post
L 1 = ladder to the storage loft
L 2 = ladder to the main entrance
M 1 and M 2 = hanging shelves
N = open fireplace
P = supporting posts of the projecting roof.

(cont.)

39: Bernatzik--374 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
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Fig. 66 (below). Chief's house in the Meau village Nam Fa. framework.

Key to symbols:

G = crossbeam of roof
H = roof beam
I = ridge posts
J = longitudinal roof beam
K = roof supports of the projecting roof
L = supporting posts of the projecting roof
L 1 and L 2 = ladder to the storage loft
Sp. = storage lofts
U = stairs, tree trunk with notches
Z = dye trough.

/467 cont./

426 The extreme politeness of the Meau is also shown in
576 collecting a debt. The Meau proceeds on the assumption that this demand for payment will not be a pleasant experience for the debtor, and /468/ the unpleasantness must be presented to him in the most amiable manner possible. The creditor announces his visit several months in advance. On the day set the debtor prepares a feast in which the creditor participates without saying a word about the debt. The Meau assume that this is superfluous, for the debtor knows only too well why the creditor has come. Shortly before the guest departs, the debt is paid without any request.

576 The same line of thought is the basis for the procedure of a visit if the visitor would like to make a request. Everything possible is discussed first, except the purpose of the call. The reason for the visit is mentioned quite casually only in connection with the repeatedly announced departure.

192 As "please," the Meau use the word tău or tău mĕn yē,
576 which literally means "please a little"; "thank you" is tŏ tsę, but one usually says tŏ tsę hŏ lŏ, with the meaning of "thank you very kindly!" As affirmation, the Meau use yā; as negation, kŭ tsĭ ŏă. They also have expressions for a number of emotions: esteem = lău sĭ yŭń; veneration = lău sĭ lŭ lē; contempt = hŭ yŭ; fear, horror = hŭĭ; hatred = a drawn-out o, amazement = ŏŭ.

156 The Meau vary greatly in their mental abilities. One finds average persons among them, but in addition personalities with pronounced qualities of leadership, who stand out because of a talent for organization, which is peculiar to the Meau in general to a high degree, as well as because of heightened rhetorical gifts and an innate authority which everywhere is made up of the immeasurable, imponderable qualities of a natural leader. Such a born leader, for example, was the
115 Meau chief, Tsin Tsai, whose hospitality we enjoyed for some
156 time and with whom I undertook hunting expeditions. It is
● 622 interesting how his personality impressed even an unprejudiced
123 European observer. For this reason I shall reproduce the pertinent section from my wife's journal:

/468 cont./

115 156 622 123

"Chief Tsin Tsai is a wonderful fellow. When he sits cross-legged on the ground, his long back hair knotted, the long tobacco pipe in his hand, his high forehead furrowed in thought, tensing the muscles of his lean jaws, /469/ stroking his sparse beard which hangs down from his strongly projecting zygomatic arches, he is so remarkably the typical representative of his industrious people, and yet he towers above their average. Not for a moment is he idle or unoccupied. Now he plaits a basket; scarcely finished, he cuts up a piece of game and distributes the meat, and now he sharpens his knife on a stone and goes into the bush for a few minutes. There he digs up some edible roots and brings them to us as a welcome supplement to our monotonous diet in the camp and visits my husband at his work in order to propose a hunting trip together. As soon as my husband has consented, he goes into his house to lay out a stick oracle and ask the spirits in which direction he must turn in order to have success, what kind of booty he can expect, and more of the same. During this time his people have come back from the fields. They quietly wait for the oracle and then turn to the chief with a series of questions. Quietly and decisively the latter now gives his orders and then is off on the hunt."

[224] [787]

A few pages further in her journal my wife returns to the chief: "It is a pleasure to watch Tsin Tsai at work. He is friendly and helpful, offers us every service, carries the hand luggage, and regards no work as 'beneath his dignity.' Moreover, he is clever, circumspect, and prudent; he sizes up the situation immediately and is able to differentiate between the essential and the nonessential. He answers questions with brief, logical, and sensible replies. If one asks him for advice, he always supplements his information with detailed reasoning. To be sure, in matters dealing with hunting, he always judges for us on the basis of his own experiences, so that sometimes differences result. He maintains, for instance, that, after a shot, tigers come along to search for wounded game, whereas our experience was that they immediately disappeared, never to be seen again. Moreover, wild animals were generally much more timid than he expected, probably because there were more of us than he was accustomed to.

/469 cont./

115 His unconditional reliance on the information from the spirits
156 by way of the oracle is characteristic of him. We also discovered
622 that prior to our arrival he had asked the spirits what our secret
123 intentions were. The information must have been favorable
[787] for us, since he decided to obey us unconditionally. /470/ I can well imagine, however, that if the opposite had been the case, everything would have been other but pleasant.

"Tsin Tsai carefully cultivates his fields and in addition is an excellent smith who is even able to forge guns and to melt and work silver. He knows how to make paper as well as to castrate animals. His real passion is for the hunt. Finally, he
[756] also acts as shaman, questions the spirits, and offers sacrifices to
[757] the ancestors and spirits. He also, however, undoubtedly possesses medical knowledge, and the Meau come to him from afar in order to be treated by him. Without detriment to these activities, he discharges his duties as village chief and judge to the satisfaction of all."

762 Although the vitality of the Meau seems almost inexhaustible and they are very cheerful, suicides nevertheless occur. In three instances that I learned of, it was a matter of unhappily married women who had no chance of getting a divorce. In one case, a young man could not get along with his older brother who was acting as the head of the family.

53 The Meau are not especially good orators, but on the other hand are very talented lyrically as poets and singers.

177 In keeping with their great vitality, they are open to innovations if a thing does not conflict with their tradition, their religious prohibitions, or their experiences. They indeed cling tenaciously to their traditional attire, but, from what has been said, they may be regarded as quite adaptable. To be sure, Savina (1)

1. II, p. 188.

states: "During the course of his migration he (the Meau, note by Dr. B.) has seen among other peoples houses that were much more comfortable than his own. And yet it never occurs to him to build something similar." In my opinion, however, this does

39: Bernatzik--706 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Between pp. 522 and 523/

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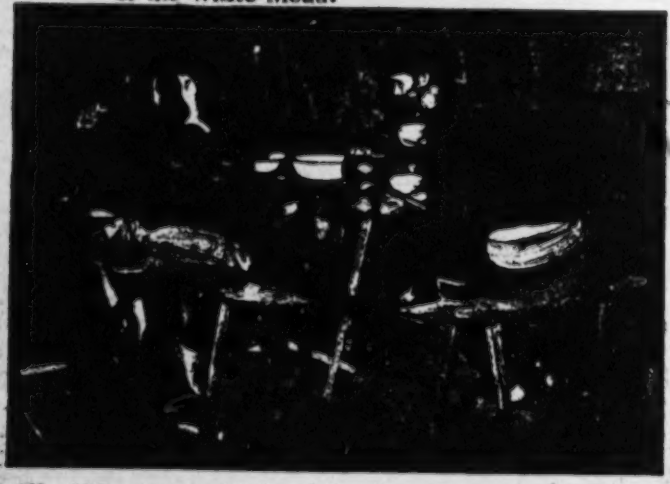
Ill. 106. Flashlight photograph in the interior of a house of the White Meau.



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Ill. 107. Meau chief and family at a meal in his dwelling.

/IX cont./

231 776 789 [775] Ill. 101. The dog is a beloved friend of the Meau. They believe that the soul of a dead dog plays a role in the other world, in the realm of the spirits, similar to the one it plays in the life of men. The throat of a newborn dog is cut so that it, as a guardian, will protect the house against sickness and evil spirits.

756 789 Ill. 102. Exorcising evil spirits by means of the shaman (right) and his assistant. The former is holding a burning torch, into which he throws gunpowder held in readiness by the assistant. The leaping flame, the smoke, and the stench are supposed to drive away the evil spirits.

231 782 Ill. 103. Before being slaughtered, the pig is purchased from the spirits by burning spirit-money representing the value of the animal under the snout of the animal.

Ills. 104-108. Houses and settlement.

343 243 482 /X/ Ill. 104. Work-hut in a rice field. In the left foreground, the typical Meau carrier.

342 [415] Ill. 105. Simple dwelling of the Meau, with walls and doors made of halved bamboo tubes. Beside the entrance stand long bamboo tubes with the partitioning walls pushed out, which serve as water containers.

353 [264] [354] Ill. 106. Flash-light photograph in the interior of a house of the White Meau. The family having a meal. In the background on the right, the mud hearth with the Chinese iron kettle. Household utensils hang down along the walls and from the ceiling of the storage loft.

● 622 [264] [352] Ill. 107. A chief of the Black Meau in his dwelling at mealtime. The furniture is peculiar, differing basically from that of the Chinese and showing a striking resemblance to the furniture of the mountain peasants in the Alps. In the foreground on the right, the oldest son; to the left, two daughters of the chief. Various kitchen utensils are hanging on the house wall.